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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN AND THE TRIBE

In which are set forth the basic ideas of Aztec education, government, law and social customs

642 618 THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION of the Aztec tribes was in theory completely democratic. An individual was a member of a family which, in turn, belonged to a cluster of families or a clan.* Theoretically twenty of these clans made up a tribe, each of them regulating its own affairs but, in matters of tribal importance, joining with the others in a council composed of all the leaders. The council appointed one chief to control civil and religious affairs and usually a second for war. Originally designed for simple farming communities and presumably of an antiquity dating back to Middle Culture times, this organization later ramified into the governmental complexity of a populous and highly complicated city-state.[1]

844 The working of a community is best illustrated by the position of the individual in it, a process which is described in the third part of the Codex Mendoza. Immediately a child was born it was washed and swaddled by a midwife. Since 777 the gods governed the fate of man on earth, the parents con- 787 sulted a priest who looked in the *tonalamatl*,† or book of

*The term clan is used to mean a tribal division without connotation of male or female descent.

†To'-na-la-matl

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fate, to see if the day of birth was lucky or unlucky. Four days later the child's family held a feast both to celebrate the birth and to name the child. If the day of birth proved to be unlucky, custom sanctioned a religious fiction whereby the naming ceremony was postponed to a more favorable period. At the feast the guests sprinkled food and pulque over the sacred fire, which had been kindled at the accouchement as an offering to the Fire God, the Old God, whose cult originated in the time of the Middle Cultures. The child, if a boy, was shown toy weapons and tools which the parents placed in his hands, guiding them in the motions of use. If the child were a girl the parents made her pretend to weave and spin with toy instruments. A name, that badge of identity so important to man, was given to the child at this time. A boy was often named for the date of his birth, One Reed, Two Flower, Seven Deer, or for an animal, like "Nezahualcoyotl" (Hungry Coyote), or for an ancestor, like "Montezuma the Younger," or for some event at the time of birth. Often the day name was given with an alternative animal title. Girls' names frequently were compounded with the word for flower, *xochitl*.

Education began after weaning in the third year. Its purpose was to induct the child into the techniques and obligations of adult life as promptly as possible. A world in which handwork is universal offers a child a chance to participate in adult activities far earlier than in our heavily mechanized culture. Fathers supervised the training of sons, and mothers instructed their daughters. Up to six years of age the children listened to frequently repeated homilies and advice, learned the uses of the household implements and performed minor household chores.[2]

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726 strength of one tribe tried to rout the yelling horde of their adversary, and the first to run lost the battle. Captives were taken, tribute imposed, the temple burned, and the defeated group was then left alone again.

To attain victory more easily surprise attacks, sometimes implemented by a little treachery, were instituted. However, the cumbrous process of getting an army onto the field of battle usually prevented this favored method of warfare. More often the Tenochcas and their allies would feint with a screen of warriors, who would be easily repulsed in a pretended rout. The main body would wait in a place of concealment until the pursuing enemy came into view, whereupon they would charge out and demolish them. Losses were chiefly felt in the number of captives taken, since these short hand-to-hand combats were not very damaging to the [787] man power of either side. The capture of a chief or the recognition of a sign of evil portent was sufficient to demoralize an army and, despite their bravery and constant experience in warfare of this type, the Aztecs were little fitted to resist soldiers trained in European techniques.

723 There was rather more opportunity for strategy than for battle tactics. Considerable planning, as we have said, was necessary to move troops upon the field of battle. The Aztecs won campaigns in Oaxaca, Puebla, western Mexico and along the Vera Cruz coast, as far north as Tamaulipas.* Having to move step by step and to intimidate or win over town after town, they needed patience and knowledge of geographical and political conditions. One reason for the honor in which merchants were held was the information of this character which they could furnish from their travels.

*Ta-mow-le'e-pas.

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cal organization of the region as a whole was far from that of an empire. In reality a multitude of independent city-states seethed with intrigue and war and were further disunited by differences in language, dialect, physical type and geographic economy. An invader, with a strongly disciplined force small enough to live off the country and thus to stay in the field, could have an astonishing success, particularly if he had a taste for intrigue. Cortes, as events proved, was the ideal man for such a purpose, and he was further favored by the psychological reaction of the Aztecs to his arrival.

The years before the Spanish Conquest had, to the Aztecs, been full of portents suggestive of future evil. There seems to have been in the air that same sense of paralysis that the French knew to their cost in 1939 and 1940. Montezuma, the war chief of the Aztecs and an amateur of witchcraft, had had an experience calculated completely to shake his nerve. He and Nezahualpilli, the chief of Texcoco, had fallen to arguing about the respective merits of their soothsayers, since the Texcocan held that strangers were going to rule the land of Anahuac. So convinced was Nezahualpilli of the correctness of his interpretation that he wagered his kingdom against three turkey cocks, the result to be decided by a ritualistic ball game with Montezuma. The latter won the first two games, but Nezahualpilli took the last three in a row. The defeat must have been disheartening to Montezuma, not only because he had so much to fear from the future, but also because his own experts had been held so cheap. (See Fig. 3.)

In close succession followed a series of phenomena, each bearing its message of woe to come. A column of fire was seen every midnight throughout the year; two temples were

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● 787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

[532]

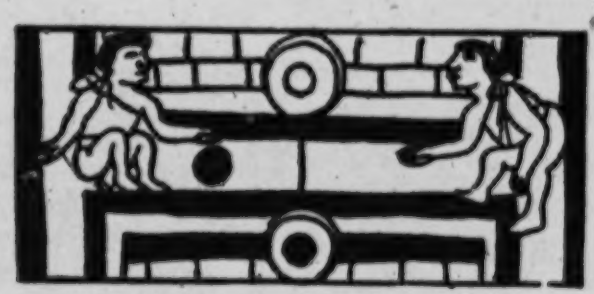

FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.[2] (See Figs. 4, 28A–B.)

175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

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back more precise reports as to their nature, and even presents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.)

Fig. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely

Fig. 5. The Spanish land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully shown. At the right, Marina, Cortés' interpreter, is translating for diplomacy on a native. *Codex Florentino*

the shipeuhqui, who is reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting: the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been ensued."

The penitent who would confess first explained to the one; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[39] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, when day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[40] brought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the new mat there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the new mat the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the one spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [here] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatever way thou art moved, in whatever manner it is, whatever thou hast done, whatever thou hast achieved, whatever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overcome, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoings: [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruption.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatini, yn jtoca mani, yn amatli, yn tlacuilolli: in quiqui- 776
yn tlili, yn tlapalli, yn metlatl, yn pitzli, yn mamatia, yn 793
aquiyo 783

yn mojolmolaoaz in tlapilchiualo; achto quitlacaquitia in tlapouhqui, quiilhuja.

Ca yuchcauhco ajnantiimaquj, yn tlacatl, yn tenocujo, in tleque nenequc: in tenocujo, yiualli, yn ehecatl, yuqujn, yeticaclanja, ajcaconilimaquj.

Quilhuja in tlapouhqui: ozmoclaxelili:

quinanatia, yn iquja ocllac: quijpepena in tonalli, quitta- [787]
yn jtoca, yn jtlacuilol: quitta, yn iquj: qualli tonalli, yn-
ixcuca, in qualcan: mjtoa: quijmolpepena.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie yeaxcellpan, ixcuic petlatl quicna: yoan copalli, yoan quauhtl: yn tlamaxtli in tlamoxcuhquj, qua ichan yn moiolmolaoa, in vmpa ychan in tlapouhquj. Auh achto teuic inuh, in tlamoxcuhquj:

ixcuic petlatl in motoca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia; [788]
yoan tlatlalilo: ajnan copalli cuecuma in tleco in tlapouhquj: quijcuma in tleol; quilhuja.

Teoa yoaan, teoa yoaa, veue uuel, ajcan ocllatia, in cujtlapilli, yn ololpolli, yn macuxolli: ajcan chocatiuja, tlaocatiuja, motenpachiuja, ancan omalaoh, ancan omotpotlaoj, ancan oquijnanjc yn vicalaoel, in tocatzaoalli, yn qacanjd: aquj ixtlilcoca, quiuquipachoa, Tlacaela, tenocujoc, tlequahc nenequhc, maroço xinocujli, ma ximocaquja, yn jeeztlamachtilo yn macxolli.

Nimaan quijnotza, yn moiolmolaoaquj, in ixhuel tlapouhquj: quilhuja.

Tlaolmoviccatia yujcuiuca, iiquentzinca, in tleque nenequc; tlamatilmjlico, tlamomaquilico, yn mjtoca, in nopalanca: tlamatiquilmjlico, in nonop, inmopolocal,

a ma no oppa ixh ajnan tlacatiuj, timomjtoaj: ma iquentzinco ximopolocuia, xinomaxaxaxaj, in tleque, nenequc, in tenocujo, in inolli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacatiuia in tenocujo, a cujx mjtoticcaxaxaz: in inolli, in ehecatl.

Auh yuja quen tiujia, ma tictlapo in nonop, in nopalcal: ma nicpac in tenocujlio, in motlachiual, yvic quenja timoti, yvic quenja ouh: in quenja motlachi, in quenja uel: in quenja tictlachi, in monequi, in monequiuhtoc:

tlenopaj, tlapaltoaj, in motlatlia, in nequaltica, in mjtoca in nequaltoca.

Auh tlamatlamachtilli, yn tenocujo, in tleque nenequc,

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39. Cf. Florentine Codex, loc. cit., and Sahagún, Historia general, loc. cit.

40. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 87, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of yualli, ehecatl: (1) "equinoccio, dia y noche[s]," and (2) "dias naturales de veinte . . . inequalidades, y fortunales y tempestades, por cuya causa tambien dicen . . ." Angel María Garibay K., Llave del nahuatl (Colección Málaga n. p., 1940), p. 110, translates tleque nenequc as "que cosa cosa y fuera"—the sun, God in general.

41. Cuecuma suggests that penance refers to the penitent.

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's down headband in red dyes, and a cape of netting with small shells.[77] His breast ornament had small shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] armed with a chilchiy cudgeling; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for rowing was in his hand. [He was upon] his vessel of reeds and rushes.

yquechquauhcuechil, mamaio, yeuachin, ixpanocuqui cyã 776
tecuitlatlapanqui yn jnaiuc: yn jnechichinol, yniçaxacuch,
yniçachinol, amapaio, ylachiuia yuaic catca, yualcpal,
acapalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-scraper (Tlahuexcuini).[78]

Jnic caxtolli vei capitulo yuchqa tlaoa, in itoca yn jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlahuexcuja.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlamilolcan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teuel catca, çan quauitl yn jmixpan catca, yuxaiocan [346]
tlacujlocan: in vncan yuxpan, mjec yn apantli, tecuecuextimanca, mamaxtiania ixtlilaoh.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aquje macoxoaia, ytlantli, vnpa qujxjcaia yn 776
jmixpan ixtlilton: cenxel, qujxlapoaia yn apantli, conjciaia 757
yn jtlilaoh; ic pactia in ytlantli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a vase, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aquje qujxoia, cepaltica in cenamaia, yuje 776
qujxicaia ychcan yn jaiqutlo: çan tlacatl in machichioaia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[79]

In oncic ychcan, tlatoxia, tzyoxia: ajmuan tlatlaquaio, 776
actlaoa: yn otlaquaioc, ajmuan mjtoxia, yn jxtlilton: yn 776
omjtoti, yn onmacuh, calitic: oncalaquj: inhuei qujxlapoa [273]
in vcxli, nauilhujtica tzacuimilca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiocaxpoia, vitzmana.

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Nimaan yc vnpoua, yn ic tlaoaia: oc cepa oalqujça izcalco, qujxlapoa yn jtlilaoh, no tzacuimanca nauilhujtica: ic macujlilhujxi in qujxlapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said purchaser he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Then they confronted and reproached him openly. Then they said [the god] would discard because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic mamaxtiania, izcala tiaçolli, yuala tzacutzolli, [787]
yuala tzontli, izcala tecolli, vncan vetzoc: ic mjtoaia, aço
tetlaxiana, aço ichtec, anoço ahuilnamj, mahuiltia: ic
aço tlacuecuelle, in tlatoria, ic qujxmoteixia, qujxtzonxoia,
quiquamia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla motoca: ixtica, ca
qujxicuxoaca, qujxiuiquamia, ic teixmoda, yn tetlatlacol.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called ixquen (face-covering).[80]

Auh yuje oalquiça tochã, quacholi yn quimacoia mamaxtia, ixquen. [293]

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with ungüent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic mochichioaia, mopac, mocuxjuilloquian, mjec- 776
quiuhtoloti, yn jxcuaqui: tequapachichiquja, quauhilla,

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77. For description, see Illustrations and text in Seler: Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, pp. 333 and 520; and also Sahagún as (Chap. 1) —Plate 19.

The term *matlatzinli* means the netted cape or mantle, with one small shell knotted where the cords crossed. The *chalchiuitl* and the *tecuitlatl* were presumably the stone or shells. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún as's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "un ornamento de tres palmos en que iba, hecho en cada vuelta, el qual llamauan *matlatzinli*, donde una vuelta cubria de debaxo a las yuelta. . . ."

78. God of medicine. Tlahuexcuini (or *tlahuexcuiani*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tecuani*ia. Cf. Seler: *Codex Laúdel*, Vol. I, p. 86.

79. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 319: ". . . *los que mantenemos fornicadores los mançebos y fornices viue se con, que se llamaba ixtoçli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*o este abstinencia, llamauan tlalnamiquiliz, quiere decir, cosa abominable primera, o cosa mucha.*" On the meaning of *nemamiqui*, see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of *nemamiquiliz*.

80. ". . . *demanda vulgar los quales llamaua ixquen: que quiere decir, cubrimiento de la cara: porque quando, una mançebo, aquel que mejo hacha, le hazia . . .*" Loc. cit.

priests] pretended playing [musical instruments], singing, and dancing before them.

[787] When they took the children to be slain, if they wept and shed many tears, those who carried them rejoiced, for they took [it] as an omen that they would have much rain that year.

Also in this month they slew many captives in honor of these same gods of the water. They slashed them first, [with their swords,] fighting them as they were tied upon a stone like a mill wheel; and when they threw them down, wounded, they carried them off to tear their hearts from them in the temple which was called Yopico.

When they slew these captives, their owners—they who had taken them—went gloriously arrayed in feathers, dancing before them and showing their valor. This continued through all the days of this month. In this feast were enacted many other ceremonies, which are set down at length in its telling (*fol.* 15).

yuan adornadas con plumajes, y con flores: yuan, taſiendo, cantando, y baylando delante dellos

Quando lleuauan a los niños a matar: si llorauan, y echauan muchas lagrimas, alegrauanse los, que los lleuauan: porque tomauan pronostico, de que auian de tener, muchas aguas este año.

Tambien en este mes: matauan muchos cativos, a honrra de los mismos dioses del agua: acuchillauanlos primero peleando cõ ellos, atados sobre vna piedra, como muela de molino, y desque los derrocauan acuchillados: lleuauanlos a sacar el coraçon al templo, que se llamaua, iopico.

Quando matauan a estos captivos: los dueños dellos, que los auian captiuado, yvan gloriosamente ataujados cõ plumajes, y baylando delante dellos, mostrando su valentia. Esto passua por todos los dias, deste mes. Otras muchas cerimonjas, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga, en su historja. fo. 15.

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, hazia fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que quiere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

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Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: September 1st after sun.

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjzli.

Cinco dias antes que començanse este mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozijos del mes pasado entrando este mes, baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de mugeres con ella: especialmente las medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos vandos y pelleauan apedreandose con pellas de puchtli y con hojas de tunas y ỹ pellas hechas de hojas de espadañas, y con flores que llamã cempoalxochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro dias.

Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras desta calidad: procurauan que aquella muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal agüero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, asujauanla muy ricamente, y hazíãla entender que la llenauan para que durmjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuentas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pellejo.

Este que vestia el pellejo desta que matauan: lleuauale luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

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The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nosotros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796✗ 777 [805] [304]

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

◦Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31* [551]
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias. [578] [787]●

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named nauí ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y jncensauan: y en el medio matauã captiuos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre. 796✗ [776] [785]

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the scriveners celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labẽderas ayuntauã quarẽta 785 796✗ 463

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The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La treszena fiesta moulble.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elections, combites, y arreytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796[x] [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta moulble

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta moulble comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian bapcizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo muchas cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 ● 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta moulble.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

X796 feathers, and in these [the children] were kept. And they went sounding flutes for them.

All mourned much; men wept for them; men loosed their tears for them; they mourned them and they groaned.

And when they reached the place of vigil, in the Mist House,[14] here was spent the night in vigil. Vigil was kept for them by the priests and the *quaquacuilti*,[15] who were the old priests. [And if] any of the priests separated themselves from them, they were called *nocauhque* (they who are abandoned); no longer did [such an one] join others in intoning chants; no longer was he needed; no more was he counted [among them].[16]

[787] And if the children went crying, their tears coursing down and bathing their faces, it was said and understood that indeed it would rain. [For] their tears signified rain. Therefore [men] were joyful; thus were their hearts at rest. Hence they said: "Verily, soon rain will set in; yea, now soon we shall have rain."

[787] And if one who was dropsical was [met] somewhere, they said: "It will not rain for us."

And when the rains were about to end, when they were soon to finish, to close, then the *cuitlacochin* bird cried—a forecast that continual, soft rain was about to set in. Then came the gulls. And also came the falcons, flying with much clamor. And they forecast when would come the ice, and that it would freeze.

And at the time called Quauitl eua, there on the round sacrificial stone appeared and came into view all those who were to be sacrificial victims.[17] And of those who were thus to die, it was said: "They raise poles for the striped ones." They were brought to Yopico, [Xipe] Totec's temple. There they made them fight in mock battle, in the same manner as they would later die, [when] they would tear their hearts out of them. They counterfeited this with them. [Using] *xerillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime [as mock-hearts], they thus cut their hearts out.[18]

amaxmatlapaleque; tlapechtica in vicnia, quetzalcalloticuja, yn vncā momanticujia, quintlapichilticuja:

cenca tlatlaoculcuiaia, techoctiaia, techoquizvinemaia, teicnotlamachtiaia, yn ca cicicioeaia.

Auh yn oxitiloque toçacan, ainuhcalco, vncan ceiooal toçaujlo, quintoçaviia tlamacazque: yoan in quaquacujlti, ichoan in ie veuetque tlamacazque. Auh in tlamacazque, yn o ceme oxtetlalcauyque, motocaiotiaia mocauhque: aocmo tecujcananamiquj, aoccan onmonequj, aoccan onpeuh.

Auh in pipiltzizintj, intla chocatiuj, intla imixaio tetocatiuh, intla imixaio pipilcatiuh, mitoaia, motenecaia, ca qujiauiz: yn imixaio qujnezcaiotiaia, in qujiaujtl, ic papacoaia, ic teiollo motlalilaia: iuh qujtoa, ca ie moquetzaz in qujiaujtl, ca ie tiqujiaujlozque.

Auh intlacana ca, yixiuhquj, q'toaia, amo techqujiaujlotla.

Auh yn ie quiçaz qujiaujtl, yn ie tlamiz yn ie itzonco: njman ie ic tlatoa in cuitlacochi, ynezca, ynic ujtz, inic moquetzaz tlapaqujiaujtl: njman oalhuj, pipizcâme: no yoã oalhuj necujlicti, tletlecton, tzatzitinemj, ynezca ie uitz in cetl, ie cenezniz.

Auh ynic mjtoaia quauitl eoa: vncan necia, vncan onjxnecia, yn izquintin oacanozque temalacac: yoan in quexquich çan miquiz, motenecaia quinquavicleoaltiaia yn oacanti: vmpa ovico yiopico, yn itzupan Totec: vmpa quintlaiecalviaia, in quenjn miquizque, qujmeltequja: çan oc quintlaioculiaia: iotlaxcalli, anoço iopitlaxcalli, ynic qujmeleltequja.

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14. In the *Anonymous Conqueror*, *nixtlahuatzin* is described as "un emplacement qui servoit comme lieux à supercheries de la part des sorciers."

15. *Quaquacuilti*. In Bibar's *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 17, it is suggested that this rendering of the term is probably "the ruler or chosen one of the land." In Sahagún's *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 110, n. 2, the translators render the term *premier de chez*.

16. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún explains in greater detail: "Si algunos de los sacerdotes del templo, y ellos á llamaban quaquacuilti, y los viejos se hallaban á este oficio, y no llegaban á donde estaba de noche, los echaban por inútiles, y dellegaban de ninguna cosa publica: de ay adelante llamandoles nocauhque, que quiere decir desechos."

17. *Xixiuhcalli*. According to Bibar, the rendering is "the striped ones," or, more freely, the captives destined for sacrifice. See op. cit., Vol. I, p. 10; Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 161, 162; and Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 23. See also Appendix to this volume, pp. 176, 180.

18. *Xerillas*. See Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book 2—The Gods (Santa Fe: School of American Re-

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Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the honors paid, and of the blood offerings which were made, in the second month, which was called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

[72] Tlacaxipeualiztli. This feast came and was thus celebrated; [it was] when all the captives died, all those taken in war—the men, the women, the children.[2]

Those who had taken captives, when, on the morrow, their prisoners were to die, then began the captives' dance, when the sun had passed noon. And they held an all-night vigil for their prisoners there in the tribal temple. And they placed [the captives] before the fire[3] and took hair from the top of the captives' heads, when half the night had passed and when they made offerings of blood from the ear.

And when the dawn came, then they made them leave, that they might go to die, they who were to die appropriately to this feast day. For during the entire festival they were all flayed. Hence they called [the feast] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And the captives were called *xipeme* and *tototeci*.[4] Those who slew them were the priests. Those who had taken them captive did not kill them; they only brought them as tribute, only delivered them as offerings;[5] [the priests] went laying hold of their heads, and seizing [the hair of] their heads. Thus they went leading them up to the top of the temple.

And when some captive faltered, fainted, or went throwing himself upon the ground, they dragged him.

And when one showed himself strong, not acting

Jnic cempoalli oce capitvlo, ytechpa tlatoa in tlamauiztlilitztli, yoan in nextlaoalitztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan vel ic vmetl metztli, in mjtoaia, tlacaxipeoalitztli.

Tlacaxipeoalitztli: ynin ilhuitl qujçaia: auh inic mochioaia, iquac miquja, yn ixquich malli, yn jxquich tlaaxtil, yn ixquich haxioac: yn oquichtli, in cioatl, yn ixquich piltzintli.

Jn maleque, in ie iuh mutzla miquizque in malhoan, iquac peoa, in momalitotia, in ie onmoncalco tonatiuh: auh ceiocal qujtoçaqja yn jmal, in vncan icalpulco: yoan vncan qujtzoncuj, iquaiolloco, tlecuilixquac qujtlalia, iquac in ioalli xeliuj, neçaoalizpan.

Auh in ooallaujc, vncan conecaltia, inic mjquj-tiuh: in miquja vel ipan in jlhujtl: auh vel iuh cemjl-hujtl muchinti qujnxipeoaia, xipeoaloia: ic mjtoaia tlacaxipeoalitztli.

Auh in mamalti motocaiotiaia xipeme, yoan tototeci: in temictiqia, iehoantin in tlamacazque: amo iehoanti qujnmictiaia in maleque, çan tequjtl qujnoncaoaia, çan tequjtl temac qujmoncaoaia, qujnquatemotzultzitzqujtiuj, inquatla qujmantiuj, ynjçpac qujmantiuj, ynjc qujntlecauja teucalticpac.

Auh yn aca malli, vel çotlaoa, iolmiquj, ça chachapantiuh, ça qujvilana:

auh yn aca vel muchicaoa, amo mocioutlamachtia,

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1. This most spectacular of ceremonies—the flaying of men—was said by Fray Diego de Durán to have been invented by Macuiltonaa *Yz quiuicol Tlacatl*. See *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y las islas de Tierra Firme* (José F. Ramírez, ed.; Mexico: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867), Vol. I, p. 174. Miguel Acosta Saignes, in *Tlamiquiztlatolli, un complejo metasemiótico entre los aztecas* (Caracas: Universidad Central, 1950), passim, argues that it is an ancient complex and in various aspects very widespread.

In Mexico, as place in a spring festival, celebrated when the soil was prepared for planting, is well recognized. Those who were the human skins represented the renewal of vegetation. Cf. Soler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71. See also Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 27-8, where, besides, origin of the ceremony in Guerrero or Oaxaca is suggested.

2. Clavigero (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149) adds that *"algunas de estas víctimas sufrían por los habitantes de oro y plata que eran condenados por la ley del reino a semejante sacrificio."*

3. Soler (*Lengua Kapixi*, p. 62) translates thus: *"legen el"*—the hair—*"vor dem Feuerherde nieder"*; Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: *"puesto al fuego hacían este ceremonia."*

4. "The flayed" (*xipeme*) and "those who die for the honor of our god Tezcat" (*tototeci*). The corresponding Spanish text, which also says: *"Todos los policros de los degollados, se ponían muchos matachines, a los quales llamauan tototeci."* Francisco Pons y Troncoso, in *Descripción Historica y Esposicion del Codice Pictorico de los Antiguos Nauas. . . .* (Florence, 1899), p. 109, writes: *". . . Xipeme ó Tototeci; es decir: los que eran vestidos con la piel del dios Xipe Tótek puesta sobre la piel del degollado, la cual abandona el cuerpo desnudo, para colocarla después con el traje y los adornos propios del dios. . . ."*

Besides being worn as devotional, the skins are said by Juan de Torquemada to have been used to forecast a wet or dry year, and the chiefs directed agricultural work accordingly.—George Kubler and Charles Gibson: *The Tovar Calendar*, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 22.

5. Sahagún, in the Spanish text, definitely states that the captive was delivered to the priest by the owner.

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[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his post; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.' Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still.

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhteti in cenleloa, quauhcaxic in tetemiuh, mec quipopoiiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlauano, tlatlaoenalo, in vyentzizin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quijmach quicuipaca.

Auh in oacic ic nauilhuitl, vncan omtlamj, in acmistemaliztli: iquac quitepeua in acnoiztl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhuitl, in ie vel iquac Teotl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhuitl:

ioalnepantla, in quychioaia, ioteztli, quitepitztlalilia, quipachoaia, iacaltic inic quitlaliaia, petlapã in comtlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencauia, omolinja, inic iocoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jeveio, itoca: Teoa, mocuitlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta ioteztli, motenteoa: icxi.

Auh in oheoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, ioteupan: anoço itenco, in moquetza ioteztli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca oheoque in teteu:

njman ic quiualitoa, in teoa. Ca omecavi in tlacat:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maxtitomoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca oheoque in teteu.

Auh in jnquich macoualli, njman ic viui, viuiloa, in tlatlauanoque intecpã, in ioteupan tlatlome: çã moche in tlapoalli, in quiiauhjia:
auh in ontlatlauanalec, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioan: çan ie no ivi in quichioa, tlatlauana in vcuepac, in jlamatzitzin, quilmach, quinjcuipaca in oheoque teteu.

Auh in jnnentlaioc, iquac hoco in Jacapitzauac, inj Jacatecutli: pechteca innenuh cauia, yoa in Iacoçauh-

[796 X] [252] [838 273] [793] [787] [534] [888 273] [772]

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2. The word ololtic is explained by Simeon (op. cit., p. 307): "And quil vsed to leave ololtic some ololtic in tetlapã vsed thereof"—"Aloyar vsaua vsarlos los dioses, se quedo el vso ololtic de ellos de vsallos."

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Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still another work of magic which this same sorcerer brought to pass, by which he cast a spell on Tula.

Behold also how the devil brought evil to Tula.

It is said that a white kite, with wounded head pierced by an arrow, flew by, passing to and fro over the Toltecs, not far [above] them. It kept nearing the earth as it flew back and forth. They saw it clearly as they stood and lingered looking upward.

Behold too yet another act of sorcery which was taken as an evil omen for the Toltecs. It is said that a mountain, called Çacatepetl, burned. By night, it was evident from afar how it burned. The flames rose high. When the Toltecs saw it, they became very restless; they raised their hands to heaven; there was great anxiety. All cried out, all shouted together. No longer was there tranquillity; no longer was there peace. And when they saw this omen of evil, they said: "O Toltecs, now is all in truth going [from us]; already the power of the Toltecs goeth. Yes, we are forsaken. What shall we do? Whither shall we go? O unhappy we! Let us take heart!"

Behold yet another act of sorcery. It is said that stones rained on the Toltecs. And when the stones rained, then a large sacrificial stone fell from the heavens; there at Chapoltepecuitlapilco' it came falling down. And afterwards a little old woman lived there. She sold [paper] flags; she walked about saying: "[Here are] your little flags." And any desirous to die said: "Buy me one," and thereupon went where the sacrificial stone was. None asked: "What now dost thou do?" They were as if lost.

Injc matlactili cuplrnãc itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj tetzavitl, in ça ie no ichoatl quichiuh nacalli, injc tlatetzanvi tullã. 539

Inca yoan injc tlatetzãvi in tlacateculotl, in tullan, quilmach istac cuixi, tlatzontectica mjntinenca, patlantinenca, mocanauhtinenca, in japan tulteca amo veca in quiztinenca in tlalli injc mocanauhtinenca, vel quiztaia acopa conitztivenca, conacopaitztinenca.

Inca yoan oc cẽtlamantli in tetzavitl, in jntetzauh nauchiuh in tulteca, quil centetl tepetl itoca çacatepetl tlatlaia, in iocaltica, veca necia, injc tlatlaia in tlecuecãlloti veca ieoaia, in iquac quittaia tulteca, vel mocomonoiaia, macomanaia, maltitinoquetzaia, in netenvitecoia, in netenpapavilcoia, aoc tlatlaca mamanca, aoc yvian ieloaia, auh injc quittaia itla tetzavitl, quitoaia, Tultecaie ca ie izquich ca ietivi, ie iauh in tultecaiotl, ca otitlatlatzivitique qočnel campanel tiianque, o totlavelikic, ximellaquacaci. [78]

Inca oc centetl in tetzavitl: quil inpan tequijiauh in tulteca, auh in otequijiauh, çatepan oaltemoc illujcacpa centetl vej tecbcatl vnpa in chapoltepecuitlapilco in vetxico, auh çatepan, onnenca illamato, papaannamacaia, quiçotinẽca ma amopetzin, auh in aquique, momiquitlanja quitoaia ma xinecbcoucvi, nimian ie ic iauh in vnpa ca tecbcatl, aiac quiçocaia in tlein ie tay inhequja otlapoloḳ.

1. Chapoltepecuitlapilco, an eponym, see Códice Tlatelolco, p. 1b. Presumably the place was near Chapultepec, today a suburb of Mexico City. Sahagún (unsurprisingly, Spanish text) regards another as a place name (Tlatelolco), an alternative name of Chapultepecuitlapilco.

[p. 28 is blank]

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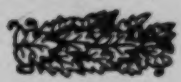

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Comet

It was said [to be] an omen for the ruler. Because of it a ruler was to perish; perchance some person of noble lineage would die. And likewise they said that somewhere he might be imprisoned, or war would begin. Or else there would be famine. The common folk said: "Perhaps this is our hunger; perchance famine," they said.

The Shooting Star

It was said that the passing of a shooting star rose and fell neither without purpose nor in vain. It brought a worm to something. And of [the animal] wounded by a shooting star, they said: "It hath been wounded by a shooting star; it hath received a worm." [Such] was not to be eaten. It was looked at with fear, abhorred, and shunned. It turned one's stomach.

And by night all were well protected. All covered themselves; they clothed themselves, wrapped themselves in mantles, and bound on their garments, for fear of the shooting star.

The 8-Shaped Stars

[These] were apart; they appeared by themselves, shining and shimmering. And for this reason were they called 8-shaped stars—that they were similar to and very much like a [kind of maize] tortilla which was made, or an amaranth seed tortilla. [These] were, at both ends, twisted and rounded over. They were eaten on the day Xochitl, everywhere, in each house. In all places, in men's dwellings everywhere, they were made.

The Scorpion Stars

In the same manner, [these] resembled and appeared in the aspect of the venomous scorpion, with upcurved tail. Arched and upcurled is its tail; wherefore [these] are called the Scorpion Stars.

Inic naui Capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Citlalin popoca.

Mitoa: tlatocaterzauitl, ic tlatocamicoaz, aço aca uey tlaçopilli ie mjquiz: yoan no quitoaia, aço cana ie oalmoztacoaz, aço ie olinjz teuatl tlachinolli: yoan anoço ie maianaloz. Quitoaia in macoualti: aço tapiz hi, aço apiztli quitoa. 821 787

Citlalin tlamina.

Mitoa: amo nenquiça, amo nēuetzi, in itlamjnalia: tlaocuillotia. Auh in tlamintli, mitoa: citlalmjnqui, ocuillo, aocmo qualo, mauhcaitto, tlaelitto, hihielo, tetlaieltia. 821 825 262

Auh in iooaltica vel nemalhuilo, neololoio, netlapacholo, nequentilo, netlalpililo: imacaxo in itlaminaliz citlalin. 821

Citlalmnecuilli.

Çan iioca onoc, iioca neztoc, tlanextitoc, cuecuepocatoc: Auh inic mitoa, citlalmnecuilli: ca quinenuilia, vel no iuhqui cenclamantli tlachichioalli tlacalli, anoço tzcoalli: nenecoc, cecentlapal quacoltic, quatcuilacachcic: zuchilhuitl ipan in quaqualoia, nouiian cecencalpan: quitzacutimanca, in nouiian techchan nechmilloia. 821 262

Citlelcuitl.

Çan no iuhqui: quinenemilia, quinamiqui, in itlachichiliz tequani colotl: cuitlapilcoxoltic, mamalacachtic, tetzilacachcic in jcuitlapil: ipampa inic mitoa citlalcuitl. 821

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821
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[735]

men make certain burns on the wrist in honor of those stars. They said of him who was not marked by those burns that, when he died, there in hell they would produce fire on his wrist, drilling it as those do who here drill fire with the stick.

maduras quando se muriese q̃ alla en el infierno avian de sacar el fuego de su moñeca barrenãdola como qñ aca sacã el fuego del palo.

821
787

The star Venus these people named Citlalpol or Uey citlalin, and they said that when it riseth in the east it maketh four assaults. The [first] three times it shineth little and hideth again; and at the fourth it cometh forth with all its brightness and followeth its course. And they say of its light that it is like that of the moon. On its first assault they held it an omen of evil, saying that it brought sickness with it. And therefore they shut the doors and windows so that its light might not come in. And sometimes they took it as a good omen. And at the beginning of the time that it started to appear to the east, they slew captive men in reverence to it, and offered it their blood, spattering it toward [the star] with their fingers.

A la estrella de venus la llamaua esta gente citlalpul, vey citlalli y dezian que quando sale por el oriente haze quatro arremetidas, y a las tres haze poco y bueluese a asconder: y a la quarta sale con toda su claridad y procede por su curso. y dizen de su luz que parece a la de la luna. En primera arremetida tenianla de mal aguero diziendo que traya enfermedad consigo, y por esto cerrauan las puertas y ventanas porq̃ no entrase su luz. Y a las vezes la tomavan por buen aguero. Y al p'ncipio de tẽpo que començaua a aparecer por el oriente matauan hõbres captiuos por su reuerencia, y ofreciale la sangre salpicando hazia ella con los dedos.

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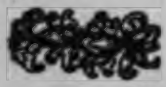

Fourth Chapter.

821 [787] The comet these people called *citlalin popoca*, which meaneth smoking star. They held it as a prognostication of the death of some prince or a king, or of war, or of hunger. The common folk said: "This is our hunger."

Llamauan esta gente a la cometa. citlalin popoca que q. d. estrella que humea: teníanla por pronostico de la muerte de algun principe o rey, o de guerra, o de hambre. La gente vulgar decia, esta es n*ra* hambre.

The flam...g [tail] of the comet these people called *citlalin tlamina*, which meaneth, the star caseth a dart. And they said that that dart always fell upon something living—a hare, or a rabbit, or some other animal; and wheresoever it would go, a worm was then formed. Wherefore that animal was not to be

A la influencion de la cometa, llamauan esta gente citlalin tlamina que q. d. la estrella tira suerte y dezian que siempre q. aquella suerte. cayx sobre algun conexo liebre o conejo o otro animal, y donde yria luego se criaua vn gusano. Por lo qual aquel animal no era de comer. Por esta causa prouocauan esta gente de

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the sang house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cinacatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose house was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpaxtepec, Coaxomiatlauacan, Çacollan, Tecomaxtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iollotzonecuillan, Atepec, Micoltin, Tlemaxac,[4] Nopalan, Istac tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichimeltecuhtlan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun rises.

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cedar or cypress wood. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has red pencil. Segundo la dandy en arena.
4. Tlemaxac. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

xamolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh mala- 175
nalistli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo quiauja, ic noujian [731]
tepan cemmaa in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in
malanalistica.

Çã no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali
catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlacl- [787]
napaloa, quenh veiah nequextepole uel xonjtotia,
ualli tiuetzinoc. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachiztí in
Españoles.

Çã no ichoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca
ioaltica, mochi tlacatl quicaquja in cho. ia quitoaia.
Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no ichoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocoliztli, njman motocac 787
yitoalco ipan quitemacoque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac
in cihoatl micoqui moncali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in
vncan motocaca tlatlacaco motlapo, auh in tetl ic
motemanca vêca veuetzino: auh in ichoatl cihoatl in
oiuh moncali, njman quinonotzato, quilhuito in
motecuçuma in tlein quittac quipouili, quilhuj. Ca
inic onjnoncali njmjtzilhuico. Ca ie izquich ca
tehoatl moca tzonquiça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca
tehoatl mopan mantiuz in altepetl mexico. Aquique
in ie uitze ca ichoantin tlalmaceoaquijxj, ichoantin
onoque in mexico: auh in ichoatl mjoca çihoatl ie
no conpoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce quichiuh icco-
euh oquichtli:

Ioan nüec in altepetl quipouh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpaxtepec, caxcomaxtlauacan, çacollan, teco- 648
maxtlauacã, çacatepec, tlachquiauhco, iollotzonecuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjcoltin, tlemaxac, nopalan istec tlalocan,
cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichimeltecuhtlan.

Çan no ichoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
ocipujxti oquittoloa mantzia netemahuiçoa, in iualtica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tomauac in tlaxcalli iahquin
tlaujpanoa ioiouh tlaxcaltécaca tenamiuh iquiçaxaapa
oalmoquetzaia vapalloia in ie oalquiça tenamiuh,

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise.
787 For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiuitl in mochipa mottaia ioalloa auh in ioaac polioh oc ioh nauhxiuitl açiquiui in españoles

175 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards
648 came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochioh inic ipan açico españoles inic caçique inic quiçaquique Mexico in vacan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in nouian in nican iancuic españa de xiuitl e quiçaquitoa y dezimueue.

175 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
731 Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days
648 after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great ripping of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Inic matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Cuitlauac, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalliuiçi ceuh açico in Españoles mexico. Ichuatl ipan mochioh in oalla vei cocolistli, i cenca ic mjcoac in ↄouiian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej ↄuatl, vej tonamiualiztli: in nic ceppa omottac inin nic omococoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, quitlacallaui in jnoac: inic quiçaiotic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjaquique, ↄn mochi atlan quiauhtlaçia: ca in jooac cenca m..jian atlan cauca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaiectimomã, inic hijauque mjaquique.

175 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.
648 Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Te-
797 nochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Inic matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiuitl, ipan mochioh: inic ichoantin españoles quiçaquique, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in nouiian ic quiçaoalcauc inquich altepetl. Icoac tlatocat in oalloque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipilhoan sanct frãcisco, in quiccaoaltico tlatetocpalliztli: ioan quiçamachtique tlanchoquilizti.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquest—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Inic matlactomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiuitl ixpan españoles nouiian inquiçato in cuextlan, hueuetta, auh in ichoatl nonoua de guzmaa, quiçaicac in vej colhuacan vmpa mjquito.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Inic matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.
Don [illegible], xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiuitl.

5. Qn omoch calaa. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has an for qn.
6. Ixpanoc: pa ixquich in ihtic.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed.

Injc ej capítulo vncan mjtoa in texcuco tlatoque, 173
injc ixqui xiuitl tlatocatque.

The first ruler, who began the reign in Texcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

Injc ce texcuco tlatoanj, Qujpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in texcuco ichoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin ichoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Itztlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan ichoatl in veue itztlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the fourth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Texcoco.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh texcuco ichoatl in 173
neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlac- 648
xiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in ichoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in isoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque qujn ichoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan texcuco.

And the fifth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj texcuco, ichoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã exiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeoaloia auh in ichoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlaxcatepe tzacutícatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoque- 173
quetzaia illujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"señor de Tezcuco, o de Acolhuacan"*; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Ixtlilxochitl* (México: Universidad de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (México, 1892), pp. 41, 42, 49; also Robertson (México, 1891), p. 303. *"Y así fueron los ziudades y pueblos que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que eran Tezcuco, Huexotzinco, Colmanhuacan."* "Colmanhuacan de los acolhuas" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 293; *"El dilubio en cuyo tiro, que era Tezcatlipuca, enojado de poca edad, hobo de los acolhuas, le dió á Colmanhuacan cuya corona vsauhan ponellos y hagueso donde los reyes publicaua como los dauan sus compañeros"* (*ibid.*, p. 289).

2. *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the grass mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *estrado*. The expression is illustrated also figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Grammatica de la lengua mexicana con anotaciones* (Remi Siméon, ed.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 218, 221.

173 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this
787 came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemiaoaz icxioal tlatectitica, auh nauhxiuitl in ipan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancuican necico auh inpoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactioce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiuitl mjeccan xió tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiuitl aciquiaj in Espa%oles, auh icoac mjc in neçaualpilli xocmo ixpan

175 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was
648 Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ixhoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiuitl. Ixhoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, ixhoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macuilxiuitl ixhoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica in omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ixhoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiuitl ie imixpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc quimpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Itzlihuchitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ixhoatl in itzlihuchitzin in tlatocat chicuexiuitl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica quiuicatiuja in marques iclan ommoqoetz ioã quiuicaia in vej mollan ixhoãtin imixpan muchiuh injc vei motlatlali altepetl injc tlaellalali marques nehoan coanacuchtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ixhoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiuitl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauetzquitzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactlopc tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ixhoatl in tetlauetzquitzin in tlatocat macuilxiuitl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlaxilotzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ixhoatl in don Antonio tlaxilotzin in tlatocat chicuacexiuitl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (I. M. Anders: *Historia de la nación mexicana*. . . . *Reproducción del Codex de 1576* [Pedro Robertson Pelton, Editores, 1892]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepechpan*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

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Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here.

Ic chiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa in nez, in mottac, in machiotl, ioan in tetzaujtl, in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, ioan in aiamo ixima-choia, in njcan chanetpe.

When the Spaniards were not to arrive here for ten years, an omen first appeared in the heavens like a flame, a tongue of fire, as if it were showering the light of the dawn.[1] It appeared as if it were piercing the heavens; it was wide at the base and pointed at the top. Well into the midst of the heavens, well into their center it stood reaching; well into the heart of the heavens it was arriving. [That which] thus was seen arose there to the east,[2] and when midnight had passed, it appeared that dawn was breaking. When day broke, soon the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a whole year it came forth (it was in [the year sign] Twelve House that it began), and when it appeared, there was much crying out as they struck their mouths with their hands. All were frightened; all waited in dread.

In aiamo oallaci españoles, oc matlacxiujtl: centlamantli tetzaujtl achto nez ilhujcatitech, iuhquj in tlemjiaoatl, iuhqujn tlecueçallotl, iuhqujn tlauizcalli pipixaubticaca, injc neçia iuhqujn ilhujcatl quiçoti-cac, tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac, uel inepantla in jlhuj-catl, uel iiolloco in açiticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollo-titech açiticac in iuh ittoia vmpa tlapcopa in oalmo-quetzaia, oiuh onquiz ioalnepantla in neçia tlathuji-iaia, ipan tlathuja. Qujn ichoatl quioalpolcaia in tonatiuh, in jcoac oalquiçaia: uel cexiujtl in oalmo-quetzaia (ipan matlactlomome calli in peuh) auh in jcoac neçia tlacaoacaia, netemujtecoia, neiçauljoia, tlatemmachoia.

The second omen came to pass here in Mexico. Of its own accord, fire broke out and burned fiercely in the house of the devil Uitzilopochtli. No one set fire to it; of its own accord it took fire. It is said that the name of the place[3] was Tlacatecca. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were blazing. From within, the flame, the tongues and flames of fire, came forth. Very quickly it consumed all the house beams. Then there was shouting; [the priests] said: "Mexicans! Run here to extinguish [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they poured water upon it, when they tried to put it out, still more did it flare up. It could not be extinguished, and it burned completely.

Injc vntetl tetzaujtl muchiuh, njcan mexico, çan mononauj in tlatlac cuetlan, aiac ma qujtlecauj çan mononoma tlecauj, in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli mjtoaia itocaiocan tlacatecca in nez ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli iitic oalquiça in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecue-çallutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in izquijch calqua-ujtl. Niman ie ic tlacaoaca qujtoa. Mexicac, ma oallatotoca, tlaceujlot, amapilol: auh in jcoac caate-quiaia, in qujceujznequja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza aocmo uel çeuh uellallac.

[As] the third omen, a temple was struck by a thunder bolt.[4] It was only a straw hut, a place named

Injc etetl tetzaujtl, vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzomitoloco, iteupan in

1. This may be clarified by reference to Pl. 4, Book XII.
2. Cf. variant versions in Chaps. I and III, and in Book XII, Chap. I, as well as in the Huitzneo version in the *Real Palacio MS*, the corresponding Spanish text, and Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Cuentlle Seler-Gesellschaft, Walter Lehmann, Walter Knickenberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 453. Alternative translations appear to be possible.
3. *Mjtoaia itocaiocan*: in a similar passage, the *Memorial de 3 Colegios* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España* [Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1938], VII, p. 93) has *mitoque, pinquyque, yiancquen*. Cf. also Pl. 5, Book XII.
4. Cf. Pl. 7, Book XII.

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175 787 Tzonmulco, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[5] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great lake which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[5a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was heard a woman, who went weeping and crying out at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[6] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[7] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

ziuhtecutli, amo tlaxnix, çan anachquijxiju in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çã tonalhujtecoc, amoqno caquixtic in tlatlazinjlizti.

Injc nauhtetl tetzamachiotl, oc vnca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ietectia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalacujampa, auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhquin tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapiltitiuh, ueca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oitoc cenca tlacaoacac, iuhquin ocalli onmoma.

Injc macujltetl tetzaujtl, poçoo in itl amo i chocatl quipoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xixitemumoloca: cenca veca in ia injc macoqueex, auh in calli tzitzintla cacic auh capapachiuh xixitin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj ajcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzaujt mjiecpa çihoatl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltoca, cenca tzatzi: quitotinemj, nonopilhoantzitzin ie ic çan ie tiuj: in quenmanja quitoa, nonopilhoantzitzin campa namechnouijquilia.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl caçipue totol, nextic: iuhquin tocujlcoiotl. Niman quitzilico in motecuçuma, tlillan calmecac omoxcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhquin tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj xapotlcac: vmpa onaeçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca quimotetzauj in jcoac quimjttac çiçitlalti ioan mamalhoaztli: auh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac totol: ene quittac iehquj on in ma acame moquequetztitiujtze, tepeuhtiujtze moiutchichiuhtiuitze quimamatl mamaça, auh njman quimnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjme quimjlhuj. Anso anquimati, in tlein onoconjttac iuhquin acame moquequetztiujcac. Auh ie quinanquilizquja in conittaque opoliuh aoc tle uel quitoque.

5. The term *ecatli* appears to be capable of interpretations as *rattle*, *bell*, or *shell*. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), Appendix, where, under Translated words, Sahagún's term *ecatl* translates *ayauhtli* ANDERSON. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 428, 462.

Cf. also Zelia Nuttall: *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans* (Berkeley: University of California, 1903), Part I, fols. 8, 48, where the *ayauhtli* are pictured in an interesting Codex in Florence, Italy.

5a. After *ecatic*, the Memorialist on 1 Columnist reads: "*Auh cenca papatlinoh ompa nicaia*"; other texts: "*Auh yuic nacamati yuic cenca çã no ompa ye ÿ ompa nicaia ÿ nay ajquiça.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en la galania, en una sala, que llamauan Tlillan calmecac.*" Cf. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 24-25 (note c).

7. *Tlapixcatzin*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), pp. 167, 171.

After *apohtoli*, the Memorialist on 1 Columnist reads: "*auc ilic ual qʼmpa. oc ompa qʼhuiltze ÿ tlatolloque. yn ihuintzitzinti, ilic yuic cenca quallaniqui ennoc ne pehuaz in quenmanel.*"

seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

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Inje chicueteri tetzaujtl, mjecpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, ça oc in [732]
jatlac vmpa qujmocujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa qujmjctaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman poliuja.

[p.20 is blank]

G. Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 M97 Aztec M97

524 was[1] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stones, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were mosaic
green stones or fine turquoise, spotted feathers,
shows, banners, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes,
green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, dark feather
capes. And he who played parcheesi, who cast the beans,
if there he made use [of them] stood, if the bean
stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] green stone; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then
he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even
though he had not yet attained the specified number
of throws. Then were all agreed; then all came to the
end [of the game].

526 They dyed with lime and stones—with a lime, with
411 a shell, with bird excreta, with dyes. With this he
[301] hanged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[643] stones or fine turquoises. The color placed it about
his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling.
With them belonged a net for the small stones,
[223] assembled so that the small stones were published. With
these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted
with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were
laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them color-
524 and gave them pleasure. And [these were those] who
rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in
many ways. Their deeds were laughable and mar-
velous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying]
below this did—he made a thick, round log dance
with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his
back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of
his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[132] were their servants, their pages who attended them
[133] and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, humpbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain
lions, and various birds.

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1. The final sentence of the Mexico MS ends quite abruptly with the repeated word of reference.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

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292

—After Pane y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Uitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Cuauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Ueuetl. 16. Don [illegible] Tzoctzopotzin. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuaupanic. (Chapter 1.)

18, 11. Quipus observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauhpopoyauac. 19. Tlacatecatl. 20. Quauhtlatoac. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tezozomoc. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoltzoc. 25. Don Marcos Tlacotzatzi. 26. Don Diego Uitzmanxochiuatzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtzotzoli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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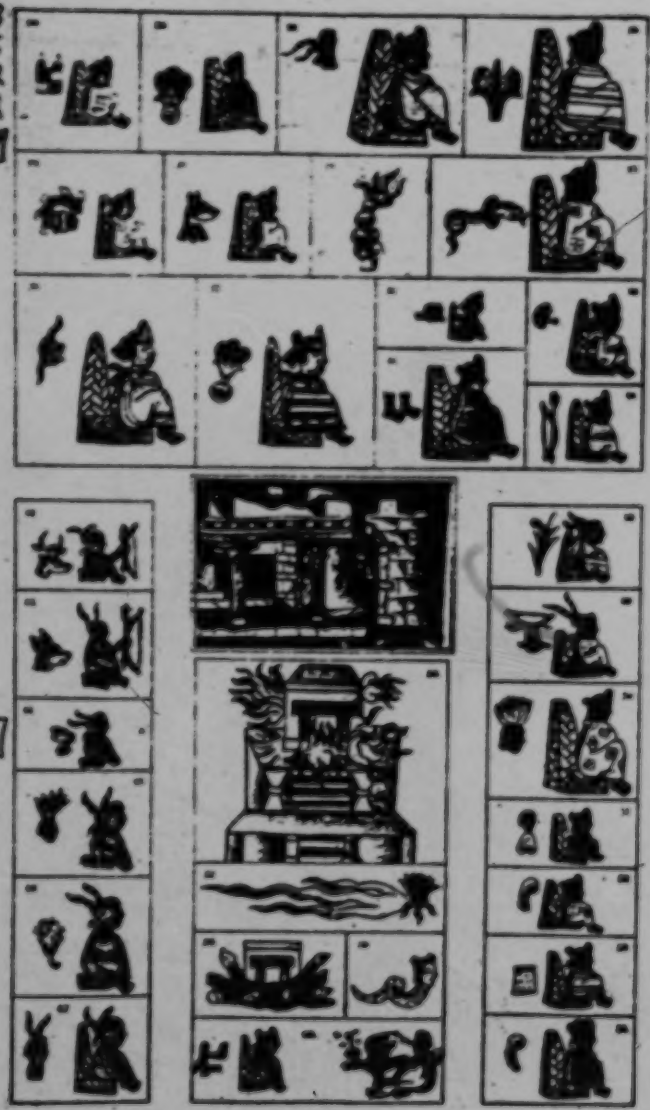
●[109]

[107]



—Códice Ramírez y Tezozomoc

Rulers of Tezcoco. 29. Tlahuatzon. 30. Techotlalatzon. 31. Ixtlilxochitl. 32. Nezahualcoyotzin. 33. Nezahualpilli. 34. Cacamatzin. 35. Coanacochtzin. 36. Tecuychuatzin. 37. Ixtlilxochitl. 38. Yoyontzin. 39. Totoquihuatzin. 40. Don Antonio Valeriano. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

31. Omens observed at Tezcoco (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uitzilo. 42. Mixcoatl wearth. 43. Techin wearth. 44. Ayauxin wearth. 45. Quetzalcoatl wearth. 46. Tezcatzoncatl. 47. Ipalnemoa wearth. 48. Xiuhtzin wearth. 49. Iztacmixcoatl. 50. Tlacahuepantzin. 51. Totomotzintzin. 52. Cuahtzitzicatzin. 53. Iztapalcatzin. 54. Cuahtemoctzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tezcoco before. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Unusual weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

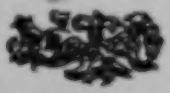
[p. 36(E)]
[p. 36(D) is blank]

?: Sahagún M-3 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

De la Conquista Mexicana

TWELFTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH HOW WAR WAS WAGED HERE IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.[1]

INIC MATLACTETL OMUME AMOXTLI, ITECHPA TLATOA IN QUENIN MUCHIUH IAUIOTL IN NICAN IPAN ALTEPETL MEXICO.



●787 First Chapter. Here are told the signs which appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come here to this land, when they were not yet known to the natives here.[2]

When the Spaniards had not arrived, by ten years,[3] an omen first appeared in the heavens. It was like a tongue of fire, like a flame, as if showering the light of the dawn. It looked as if it were piercing the heavens. [It was] wide at the base and pointed [at the head]. To the very midst of the sky, to the very heart of the heavens it extended; to the very midpoint of the skies stood stretched that which was seen off to the east. When it arose and thus came forth, when it appeared at midnight, it looked as if day had dawned. When day broke, later, the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a full year [the sign] came forth. (It was [in the year] Twelve House that it began.) And when it appeared, there was shouting; all cried out striking the palm of the hand against the mouth. All were frightened and waited with dread.

Inic ce cxpōhualo vncā mjtoa in nex, in motlac in machiotl yuā in ytzavjtl, in ximoo valloj españoles, in njcan tlalli ipan in ximoo no iximachoa in njcā chanopa.

In ximoo vallaci españoles, oc matlacxiviti, omōtlalli ytzavitl achto nex, illōjcacitech inhuaj in tlemjiaoatl, inhuaj in tlecuçahuitl, inhuaja tlavizcalli, pipixahuiticaca inic necia, inhuʼn illōjcatl quiçoticac: tlimpatlaoac, quapitzauac: vel ineppantla in illōjcatl; vel yiollo in acitlcac illōjcatl, vel illōjcaiollocticch acitlcac, in ioh itztia vmpa tlapcopa: in calmoquetzaia, ōioh onquiz ioalnepantla in necia tlavilloia, ipan tlavia, qʼn ichcauh quiçoalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in içuac oalquiçhia: vel oc xivitl in calmoquetzaia (ipan matlactli omume calli in peoh). Auh in içuac necia tlacoaoaia, netzavitzoua, aciçevlloia, tlatzmaccheoa.

1. Book XII, as well as the other eleven, Sahagún says, was written in Tlatelolco. See Carlos Ma. de Bustamante (ed.): *La aparición de Nra. Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico, comprobada con la relacion del apparecion escpuesta por primera D. Juan Bautista Muñoz, fundandose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino Sahagun* (Mexico: Ignacio Cumplido, 1840). The Tlatelolcan point of view is especially evident in this account. Cf. esp. p. 1. For a full history of the writing of the Florentine ground, however, see Wigberto Jiménez Moreno: *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y su obra* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938); José Angel Escalona Gallegos: *Historia de la literatura azteca* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1954), passim, and II, pp. 348 sqq.

The translations regard this history of the Conquest as an Aztec account. Hence there is no attempt to compare it with histories by contemporary Spanish authors, or with other sources, except to clarify the Nahuatl text. The students of the history of the Conquest will find such sources as Cortés' letters, Bernal Díaz, Cervantes de Salazar, Aguilar, and others, necessary for the complete narrative.

2. See also Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book VIII — Kings and Lords (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph 14, Part IX, and University of Utah, 1954), Chapter VI.

3. Two years, in Bustamante, op. cit., p. 1. Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Azteckischen übersetzt* (Gesellschaft für Amerikanische Altertumskunde, Walter Lehmann, und Walter Knoche, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 455, n. 1, reads: D. h. zwei Jahre vor der Ankunft der Spanier (*zwei Rohr = A.D. 1517*) *Die Angabe stimmt, dass diese Lichterscheinung zwei Jahre vor der Ankunft der Spanier gesehen worden ist, widerspricht aber nicht der der Angeln hier.*

●787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Inquyac,[4] at the place named Tlacatecco. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: [335] "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it [318] all burned.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunderbolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmolco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining; not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the beams of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Inic vntel tetzavizt mochiuh, ajcan mexico: çan mononnavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, ninc mo quiiocuiz, çan mononna tlecuel in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, inioc itocaiocan Tlacatecco: in nen ic tlachi in tlapetzalli, in jiec, onhquiça in tlemjlacuel, in tlenenepilli, in tlenençalizt, cenca çan ixiuhco conpalo in inquich calqueuizt: njmon ic ic tlecuecuca, quiçan. Mexicoc ma vallaxexca, ma ocvlloa, amaquixti: ouh in jquac cuatequjxia, in quiçevinenequja, çan ic illiujan nauhinna, accano vel ocuh, vel tlatlac.

Inic ontel tetzavizt: vincoc ipan tlatlauia tecalli, çan xacalli ceca, itocaiocan tzilmolco: itcupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tlauia, çan aoaltequjxivia in juh tetzaamachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tenalhujtoc, amono cequjxtic in tlatlauinjlizt.

Inic nauhtet tetzavizt: oc vnca in tonatiuh in zivitl veta ixtiatia, vmpa onhpeuh in tonatiuh icalaquiampa; ouh vmpa itzula in jquiçaiampa, inhuqui in tlenchtli pipizauhcuh, veca mocujtlapilhtiuh, veca actiuh in jcuitlapil: ouh in oiuoc ohca tlecuecuc, inhuqui cioualli tlenemaz.

Inic macujlteti tetzavizt: poçon in atl, amo ichcatl quiquoçonahi, inhuqui momomoloca, inhuqui xiuitemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, inic macuepaen: ouh in calli tzintzintin cacic, ouh cuepachiuh, xiuitia in calli: ihuoui in vei itl tenhan mani ajcan mexico.

Inic chiquacentlamantli tetzavizt: nijcpa cioatl cacuia chocatiuh, tuetziuh, inahica cenca tuetzi; quitotiaznj. Nonquilhuantimia, in ic ça in tonvi: in

4. Probably Inquyac is meant for Atzic. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also Memoriale no. 3 reference, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — Historia de las cosas de Nueva España (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905), VII, p. 95; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquerors, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the Florentine Codex has this in a similar passage. In the Real Palacio MS it reads: ynic ȝ onhquiça.

6. Ca çan oquiuec in ilui, etc.

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book VIII — Kingsborough, p. 13, n. 3.

8. In the Real Palacio MS, this passage reads: "auh ȝ calli ninohuiuh mjqui. auh ouiz quipouhtiuh ȝquiqui calitec."

9. In this MS, mauj is followed by "auh ynic oncuiuaz ynic ocuiuh. ȝ ca ce tonqui ça ȝ tonqui ocuiuh ȝ ouiz quiqui."

-2-

beloved sons, now we are about to go!"[10] Sometimes she said: "O my beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

A seventh omen: at one time the fisher folk who hunted or snared with nets took captive an ashen hued bird like a crane. Then they went to show it to Moctezuma, [who was] in the Tlillan calmecatl.[11] It was past noon, and still daytime. On its head was as it were a mirror, round, circular, and as if pierced in the middle,[12] where were to be seen the heavens, the stars—the Five Drill [constellation]. And Moctezuma took it as an omen of great evil when he saw the stars and the Five Drill. And when he looked at the bird's head a second time, a little beyond[13] [the stars] he saw people who came as though mounted, who came as conquerors, girt in war array. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the soothsayers and the sages.[14] He said to them: "Do you not know what I have seen there, which was as if people came mounted?" And when they would answer him, that which they looked at vanished. They could tell [him] nothing more.[15]

An eighth omen: often were discovered men of monstrous form, having two heads [but] only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecatl, where Moctezuma beheld them; but when he looked at them, they then vanished.

quenmanjan quitos. Nooopilhoantzitzin, campa nemechnoviquilia. 787

Injc chicuetlamantli tetzavitl: ceppa tlatlamaia, [223]
manoço tlamatlavisia in atlaca; centetl cacique totoltzintzic, iuhquin tocujlcoiotl: njmā quitzitzito in Motecuçoma, tlillan, calmecac: ommotzcalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca, iuhq'n tencotl icpac mani, malacachtic, tevilacachtic, iuhquin xapotticac: vmpa onnecia in ilhujcatl, in cicitlaltin, in mamalhoaztli. Auh in motecuçoma, cenca quimoteitzavi in jquac quijmittac cicitlaltin, yoā mamalhoaztli. Auh injc vppa ontlachix in jcpac tototi, ene quittac, iuhquj on in ma acame, moquequetztivitze, tepeuhtivitze, moisochichiuhtivitze, quiamama mamaça. Auh njman quinnotz in tlaciuhque, in tlamatinjme: quimjlhuj: Amo anquimati in tlein onoconittac, iuhquin acame moquequetztivitze: auh ie quinanquilinquja, in conittaque, opoliuh, aoc tle quitoque.

Injc chicuetetl tetzavitl: mjecpa motenextiliaia, [732]
tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, çan çe in intlac, vmpa quimōvicaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa quimittaia in motecuçoma, in oquimittac njmā polivia.

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10. Cf. loc. cit., where all pick this appears.

11. In Bustamante, op. cit., p. 10, this is explained: "In llegaron á presentar de Moctheuzoma, el cual por entonces estaba en unos palacios que se llamaban Tlillancalmecatl (quiere decir, palacios pintados de negro) y porque aquí crian todas aves palustres para despues, solamente alli, este Tlillancalmecatlo estaba para recogerse en el tiempo de adversidad y tristeza."

12. A thirteenth [instrument for seeing], emblem of Tezcatlipoca and the fire god (Seler, op. cit., p. 455, n. 4).

13. In the Real Palacio MS, a similar phrase is written: "Ihuc ypalnoc, yuhq'n ocuiuc quiquetztivitzino." On quequetztivitzino, see Rémi Siméon, Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885)—quequetztia. In corresponding Spanish passage, Sahagún translates as "trastabillaban de gente [sic]" or "caerse gente [sic]."

14. Tlatoliquen: see Angel María Garibay K.: "Tlatoliquismo de Sahagún," Tlalocan, II, 2 (1946), p. 171. Garibay is incorrect in translating "Los sabios dijeron, porque hicieron [sustentaron] conversaciones."

15. In the Real Palacio MS, following equivalent, we read: "aoc tle ual ytoqui, ca oppa ytlallol y tlacatiloia in tlamatinime, de pues nunca quedaba cosa sin saberse por quererse." (In the original, the abbreviation for "que contenido -que" known to the then copyboard hand.)

[p. 4 is blank]

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here is related how Moctezuma sent still other soothsayers in order that they might cast a spell over the Spaniards,[1] and what befell them on the way.

And another company of messengers, who were soothsayers and magicians, and fire priests, also went and made their way to contend with them. But they could do nothing. They could not cast a spell over them; no more could they contend against and exert power over them. No longer could they succeed.

For a drunkard came along the way. They went up against him and stopped, stunned. They beheld him as one from Chalco, for so was he arrayed. He was dressed as a man from Chalco; he acted as a Chalcan. Like one besotted, he bore himself and acted like one who is drunk. With eight gras ropes was he bound about the chest.[2] He accosted them, having come ahead of the outposts of the Spaniards.[3]

And he rose up against them and said: "What do you come to do here again? What do you now wish? What would Moctezuma yet wish to do? Hath he perchance now come to his senses? Is he now filled with a great fear? For he hath consumed a fault. He hath abandoned the common folk; he hath destroyed men. People have been struck upon the head; they have been found [in wrappings for the dead]. He hath laughed at and deceived them!"

And when they had thus seen this, when they had heard his words, to no purpose did they give him attention, praying humbly to him and quickly setting up his abode — his earth pyramid and his straw bed. But he would not then look at it; vain was its erection. To no purpose had they made the earth pyramid.

Just as if they had plunged him into his rage, he presently chid and abused them, and spoke harshly.

Injc nealacatli omoi caplolo vncā mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma: quimjtoa oc ceçoiantin tetlachiviznjme injc quiçtlachivizquja Espanoles yoan in tlein vtlica inpan mochiuh.

Auh ie no centlamantique titlanti: iehoan in tlaciuhq̄ in nanaoalti, yoan tletlenamacaque, no ic iaca, no ic iaque in tenamiçquinque: auh aoccā vel mochiuhque, aoccan vel teittaque, aocmo tlaipantilique, aocmo teipantilique, aocmo oniccatque:

çan ie ce tlaoanquj vtlica ica onmocnotzcoato, quimonamjctito, ica onmjxtilquetzato: injc quittaq̄ iuhquin chalcatl ic omochichiuh, mochalcachichiuh, mochalcanenequj: iuhquin tlaoāquj, mjvincanenequj, mocaoācanenequj: chicuei çacamecatl ic melilpi, quimjxnamjctivitz hiiacac icativitz in Españoles.

Auh çan inca iecac: quimjlhuj. tle noma amaxtivitze in njcā? tlen oc anquinequj? tle noma quichioaznequj in Motecuçoma? cujx quin omozcalli? cujx quin xacan ie monauhticapul? ca otlatlaco, ca oconcavili in macoxalli, ca otlacaixpolo teca omoquavinc, ca teca omoquimjlo, ca teca omavilti, ca teca omocacaiauh.

Auh in ciuh quittaque in, in ciuh quicaque itlatol, oc nen itlan aquj, in quimocnotlatlauhtilia, quitlalilitivetzque ichiel itlalmomoz, yoan içacapepech, çan njmā aocmo vmpa quioalittac: tel çan neapanca in onmotlalica, in vncan oc nen quiçtlalmomuztica:

çan ie iuhquin icamac onmaçoique, ie vncan quimaoa, quintequjaia, iuhquin motititzatlatoa:

1. Remember the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.
2. See H. 27.
3. The corresponding Spanish text reads "luego salido a los puestos sobre sobrestar a seguir hacker de hasta cuanto de espanta, y cuajo de hasta donde estaban los españoles."

He said to them:

"Why do you vainly stand here? No longer will there be a Mexico; [it is gone] forever. Go hence; it no more existeth. Turn about; look at what befalleth Mexico — what thus already cometh to pass!"

Then they looked there; they quickly turned there to see. They beheld that already all the temples, the tribal temples, the priests' dwellings,[4] and all the houses in Mexico burned; and [it looked] as if already there were fighting.

And when the soothsayers had seen this, it was as if they had lost heart; they could say nothing; it was as if they had been made to swallow something.

They said: "This is not for us to see; it must needs be that Moctezuma see what we have seen. For this is no common being; this is the youth Tezcatlipoca."

Then he vanished, and they saw him no more.

And so the messengers went no further to encounter [the Spaniards]; they no longer pressed on toward them. From there the soothsayers and fire priests turned back and came to tell Moctezuma. There they and those who earlier had gone [with] Tziuacpopocatzin saw one another.

And when these messengers had come to arrive, just so they related to Moctezuma how this had come to pass and how they had beheld it. Moctezuma, when he heard it, only bowed his head; he stood with his head lowered. He hung his head: he stood with his head downcast. He did not then speak, but only remained full of woe for a long time as if beside himself.

Finally he thus answered them, and said: "What can we do? What can be done? For we are finished; we have taken the medicine. Shall we perhaps climb a mountain? Should we perhaps flee? For we are Mexicans. Shall we in truth perhaps enslave the Mexican domain? Unlucky[5] are the poor old men and old women! And the children, who have no understanding — where may they be taken? What can be done? Where, in truth, can one go? For now we have taken the medicine. Come what may, in whatsoever way it may befall, we shall marvel at it!"

quimilhuj.

Tle çi nen in njcan anjcativitze soquje iez in Mexico, ie ic cémáia, nepa xivia, aocmo vncá, tlaxonmocuepocan, tlaxontlachiacan in Mexico, tlein ie mochioa: in juh ie mochioa.

Nimá ic oallachixque, oallachixtiveztique, in qujoalitta ie tlatlí in jzquich teucalli, in calpulli, in calmecatl, yoan in jzquich mexico calli, yoan iuhquin ma ie cuel necaliva.

Auh in oiuh quittaque in tlaciuhque, iuhquin canja ia, iniollo, aocmo onnacatque, iuhquin aca itla quintololti:

quitoque inin ca amo tonechmonequja in tiquittazque, ca ie iiech monequja quittaz in Motecuçoma, in otiquittaque: ca amo çan aca, ca itheuil in telpuchtli Tezcatlipoca:

njman ic poliuh, aocmo quittaque.

Auh in titlanti aocmo tenamjquito, aocmo tevic quiçato, ça vncá oalilloque in tlaciuhque, in tietlenmacaque, quinonotzaco in Motecuçoma: oalnepanjxtiaque in achto isque in Tziuacpopocatzin.

Auh in oacico iehoantin titlantin, iuhquj povilique in Motecuçoma in juh mochiuh in juh quittaque. In motecuçoma, iñ oiuh quicac, ça oaltolo ça oaltolotimotlali, oalquechpilo, oalquechpilotimotlali, aocmo oalnaoz, çan ontlanuhtimotlali, vecauhtica in iuhquj ontlapolo,

ça izquich injc quinoalnanquili: quinoalilhuj. Quennel mocechtle ca ie ic toncate, ca ie otictomacaque, cujx cacah tepetl tictlecaviaque: auh cujx ticholoque ca timexica, cujx nellaontimalivia in mexicaiutl, motolinja in jcnoveve, in jcnoilama: auh in piltzintli, in aia quimati, campa neviquilikeque, quénel, quençannel nen, quénoçonel, campa nel, ca ie tictomacaticate in çaço tlein, in çaço quenamj in ticmaviçaque.

4. *Calpulli, calmecatl* — tribal temple and priests' dwelling and translations of these terms previously used in this work, for which there is precedent. See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, passim. Refer also to Arturo Monzón *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), passim (*calpulli*) and p. 77 (*calmecatl*); see Alfonso Caso: "Instituciones indígenas precortesianas," Memorias del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, VI (1954), pp. 20ff. (*calpulli*), 36 (*calmecatl*).

5. From recordings on the passage is translated in Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 520.

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—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Landing of the Spaniards (preceding text). 2. Spaniards assaulting (preceding text). 3. Spaniards assaulting a temple in Tabasco (Chapter 1). 4. First omen: the tongue of fire (Chapter 1). 5. Second omen: burning of Temple of Huitzilopochtli (Chapter 1). 6. Third omen: burning of Temple of Xiuhtecutli (Chapter 1). 7. Fourth omen: comets in three parts (Chapter 1).

[p. 44(C)]

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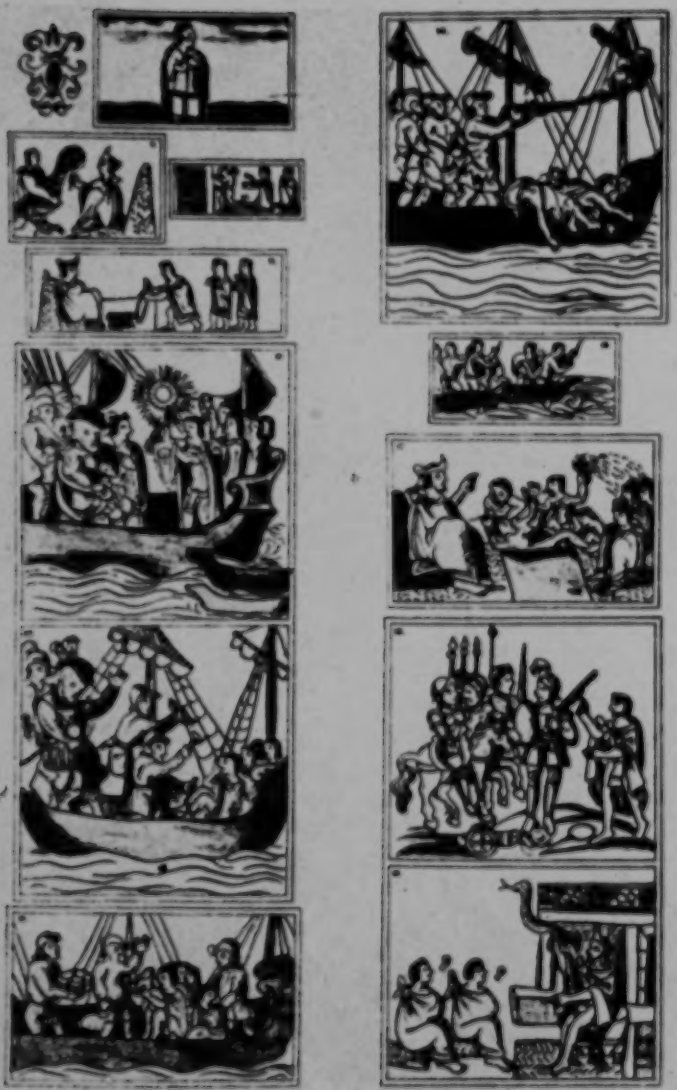

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

8. Sixth omen: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh omen: the ashen bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth omen: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Stewards present Spaniards' gift to Moctezuma (Chapter 2). 12. Moctezuma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Moctezuma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Moctezuma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Moctezuma hears descriptions of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Inje cempoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn iehoantin Mexica in jquac ovel quinicaltecpachoco in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuhq̄nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh inje valneztia iuhq̄n vei tlexuchtli.

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And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Later at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, mapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacasco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

Auh in ovalioac: njman ie ic ꝗujqujiavi, avachquiqujiavi, ie tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in juh mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuhqujn ecamalacutl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilacachotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemoiutl, iuhqujn ecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in atenamjtl: coionacasco in valiztia: njmā ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popoliviro,

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

niac motenvitec, aiac navat:

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in toiaovan.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axayacatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

Auh in capitan tlapico vallachixtica in amaxac, Axayatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, quimoojtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in Españoles, mononoztoque.

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And [on our side] were Quauhtemoctzin and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the head priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatilulco — the

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc cequjntin tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacutzin. Tlillancalquj. vitznaoatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in iehoantin in tlatilulco tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

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1. Ed.: *op. cit.*, p. 566, translates *xamani* (converted verbal) as *Kleinkram*. See, however, Simeon, *op. cit.*
2. Ed.: *loc. cit.*, has *ein Wirbelwind* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 3.
4. We have rearranged the last few of the nobles as Ed.'s does in *op. cit.*, p. 567, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Glossary*: Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), II, p. 383; Chimalpáin, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
6. Tlilancalqui. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 68. For *tlilancalcatl*, Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 178, has *corchiano mayor*.
7. *Glossary*: Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli*: Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 51.
9. Torquemaconsulo: Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 117.

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be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory. 721 723

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also 721 [787].

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I must stop talking about this City and all that hap- 648
pened there, and say that the Squadrons sent by the Great Montezuma, which were already stationed in the ravines near Cholula and had, as was agreed, constructed barricades and narrow passages so that the horses could not gallop, as I have already related, as soon as they learned what had happened, returned, faster than at a walk, to Mexico and told Montezuma how it all happened. But fast as they went the news had already reached him, through the two Chieftains who had been with us and who went to him post-haste. We learned on good authority that when Montezuma heard the news he was greatly grieved and very angry, and at once sacrificed some Indians to his Idol Huichilobos, whom they looked on as the God of War, so that he might tell him what was to be the result of our going to Mexico, or if he would permit us to enter the city. We even knew that he was shut in at [787] his devotions and sacrifices for two days in company with ten of the Chief Priests, and that a reply came from those Idols which was, that they advised him to send messengers to us to disclaim all blame for the Cholulan affair, and that with demonstrations of peace we should be allowed to enter into Mexico, and that when we were inside, by depriving us of food and water, or by raising some of the bridges, they would kill us; that one day only would suffice, if he attacked us, to leave none of us alive, and then he could offer his sacrifices to Huichilobos who had given this reply, and to Tescatepuca the god of Hell, and they could feast on our thighs and legs and arms, and the snakes and serpents and tigers which they kept in wooden cages, (as I shall tell later on at the proper time and place,) could gorge on our entrails and bodies and all that was left of us.

Let us stop talking about what Montezuma felt and say how this affair and punishment at Cholula became known throughout the provinces of New Spain and if we had a

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plotted a treason with the intention of killing us; and as we are men of such character that it would be impossible to hide any matter of double dealing, or treachery, or iniquity, which they might wish to enact against us without our knowing of it at once, for this reason we punished some of those who intended to carry out the plot. As he [our Captain] knew that they were his [Montezuma's] subjects, [it was only] out of respect for his person, and on account of our great friendship, that he refrained from destroying and killing all those who were concerned in the treason. However, the worst of it all is that the priests and Caciques say it was on his advice and command, and that of his ambassadors, that they intended to do it. This of course we never believed, that such a great prince as he is could issue such orders, especially as he had declared himself our friend, and we had inferred from his character that since his Idols had put such an evil thought as making war on us into his head, he would surely fight us in the open field; however, whether he fought in the open or in a town, by day or by night, we would kill those who thought of doing such a thing. But as we look upon him as our great friend and wish to see and speak to him, we are setting out at once for his city to give him a more complete account of what Our Lord the King had commanded us to do.

When Montezuma heard this message and learned through the people of Cholula that we did not lay all the blame on him, we heard it said that he returned again with his priests to fast and make sacrifices to his Idols, to know if they would again repeat their permission to allow us to enter into the city or no, and whether they would reiterate the commands they had already given him. The answer which they gave was the same as the first, that he should allow us to enter and that once inside the city he could kill us when he chose. His captains and

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tribute to His Majesty, and that as he now understood about the great power of our Lord and King, to whom many lands pay tribute and taxes and many great kings are subject, it would be well for him and all his vassals to give him their fealty, for such is the custom, first to give fealty and then to give tribute and taxes. Montezuma replied that he would gather his vassals together, and talk to them about it. And within ten days nearly all the Caciques of that territory assembled together, but that Cacique who was most nearly related to Montezuma did not come. I have already said that he was reported to be very valiant, and in his bearing and body and limbs and in his face he clearly showed it. He was somewhat blustering, and at that time he was staying at one of his towns named Tula.

It was rumoured that the kingdom of Mexico would come to this Cacique on the death of Montezuma, and when they sent to summon him he replied that he did not wish to come, nor to pay taxes, for he was not able to keep himself with the income from his provinces. Montezuma was very angry at this reply, and at once sent some Captains to take him prisoner, but as he was a great Lord, and had many relations, he was warned of this and withdrew to his province where they were not then able to catch him.

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I must leave him now and state how, in the discussion that Montezuma held with the Caciques of all the territory whom he had called together, after he had made a speech without Cortés or any of us, excepting Orteguilla the page, being present, it was reported that he had told them to consider how for many years past they had known for certain, through the traditions of their ancestors which they had noted down in their books of records, that men would come from the direction of the sunrise to rule these lands, and that then the lordship and kingdom of the

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Mexicans would come to an end. Now he believed, from what his Gods had told him, that we were these men, and the priests had consulted Huichilobos about it and offered up sacrifices, but their Gods would no longer answer them as they had been accustomed to do. 648 787

All that Huichilobos would give them to understand was, that what he had told them before he now again gave as his reply, and they were not to ask him again, so that they took it to mean that they should give their fealty to the King of Spain whose vassals these Teules say that they are:— 648

"As for the present it does not imply anything, and as in time to come we shall see whether we receive another and better reply from our Gods, so we will act according to the time. For the present, what I order and beg you all to do with good will is to give and contribute some sign of vassalage, and I will soon tell you what is most suitable, and as just now I am importuned about it by Malinche, I beg that no one will refuse it. During the eighteen years that I have been your Prince, you have always been very loyal to me, and I have enriched you and have broadened your lands, and have given you power and wealth, and if at this present time our Gods permit me to be held captive here, it would not have happened, unless, as I have told you many times, my great Huichilobos had commanded it."

When they heard these arguments, all of them gave as an answer that they would do as he had ordered them, and they said it with many tears and sighs, and Montezuma more tearful than any of them. Then he sent a chieftain to say that on the following day they would give their fealty and vassalage to His Majesty. This was on the [1] day of the [1] month, in the year 1519.

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[1] Blank spaces left in the original.

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Thus As
soon as we had placed the image of Our Lady and the 787
Cross on the Altar which we had made on the Great Cue and the Holy Gospel had been preached and Mass said, it seems that Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca spoke to the priests, and told them that they wished to leave their country as they were so badly treated by the Teules, and they did not wish to stay where those figures and the Cross had been placed, nor would they remain there unless we were killed, and this was their answer and they need not expect any other, and they should inform Montezuma and all his Captains, so that they might at once go to war and kill us. The Idols further told them that they could see how all the gold that used to be kept for their honour, had been broken up by us and made into ingots, and let them beware how we were making ourselves lords over the country, and were holding five great Caciques prisoners, and they told them of other misdeeds so as to induce them to attack us. In order that Cortés and all of us 000
should know about this, the Great Montezuma sent word to tell Cortés that he wished to speak to him on very important matters, and the page Orteguilla came and said to him that Montezuma was very sad and much disturbed, and that during the previous night and part of the day many priests and leading Captains had been with him and had said things to him privately that he [the page] could not understand.

When Cortés heard this he went in haste to the palace where Montezuma was staying and took with him Cristóval de Olid, who was Captain of the Guard, and four other Captains and Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, and, after they had paid much respect to him, Montezuma said: "Oh! Señor Malinche and Captains, how distressed I am at the reply and command which our Teules have given to our priests and to me and all my Captains, which is that we should make war on you and

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might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have uttered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and "my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my "chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in "all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my "duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for "many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not graciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently* given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I "shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and "I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 450). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 127 and p. 160.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenochtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (Historia eclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hicieron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "cañaverales de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia descocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada á manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas chozas, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 468. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.")

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 26 July, 1524, pp. 469, 461 and 462, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitives de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also.

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2. To cases of military insubordination, or treachery:[369] 643

3. To instances of great importance, demanding sudden action in order to avoid public danger.[370]

cases, the right of summary punishment, as well as in the case of unfaithful stewards or disobedient subordinates in general. Compare, on the same subject, *Durán* (Cap. LIII. pp. 419 and 420). The fact, that the "Chnacohuatl" spoke to the young men, further shows that the exercise of such extreme power was known to, and sanctioned by, the council.

[369] Quotations are useless, the necessity for such a power being too plain. But it is well, here, to state that among much ruder tribes even, and where the democratic element was carried to its greatest extremes, arbitrary punishment by war-captains sometimes occurred. Thus it is asserted that, at the bloody engagement of Point Pleasant, Va., 10 of October, 1774, "Cornstalk," the great Shawnee war-chief, tomahawked one near him who had "by trepidation and reluctance to proceed to the charge, evinced a dastardly disposition." *Alex S. Withers* ("*Chronicles of Border Warfare*," Chap. VII, p. 129). It explains also the summary punishment of traitors and deserters, as well as of those who assumed the dress of the prominent war-chiefs during a raid or an engagement.

[370] The incarceration of runners or messengers may be (and has been to me in conversation by an aged friend) brought up in proof of the belief, that the "chief of men" had a despotic power. Instances of that kind are related by *Tezcucomoc* (Cap. CVI. p. 189). This is the truly admirable description of the first news brought to México of the approach of European ships. It is too lengthy to be inserted here. A runner from the coast carried the news, and "Wrathy Chief" said to Petlacalcatl, take him to the cell made of logs (probably split logs, "tablon") and look after him. This was done to keep the news secret until the matter could be investigated, and was, therefore, a preliminary measure of policy. But, aside from the fact that the isolation rather than incarceration (since the latter would have been death) of a news-carrier was a matter of policy, and as such a *duty* of the "chief of men," it was also an established custom among the Mexicans. This is stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVII, pp. 317 and 318): "Habiendo cautivado á alguno, luego los mensageros que se llamaban tequipanitlanti, venian á dar las nuevas al rey de aquellos que habian cautivado á sus enemigos, y de la victoria que habian obtenido los de su parte . . . . . y el señor los respondia diciéndoles: "Seais muy bien venidos, huélgome de oir esas nuevas, sentad y esperad, porque me quiero certificar mas de ellas, y así los mandaba guardar, y si hallaba que aquellas nuevas eran mentirosas, hacialos matar." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 536): "y que no le dejasen salir de Palacio hasta tener segundo Correo, que confirmase aquella buena nueva, que él havia traido. *Velasquez* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. II, p. 381), almost a textual copy of the preceding author, as might be expected.

Among the many tales of prodigies, supernatural warnings, witchcraft, etc., etc., [787] connected with the months and years immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, there is, also, one bearing a particularly pure Indian character. See *Durán* (Cap. LXVIII, pp. 531-536). *Tezcucomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 188 and 189). "Wrathy Chief," alarmed by mysterious prognostics, called upon all the old men, women, and the medicine-men, to report what they *might dream* or *had dreamed* within a certain lapse of time. It is well known what high value is attached by the Indians in general to *dreams*. There can be no doubt that, with the prevailing notion that dreams contained important and solemn premonitions, warnings from a higher source (*Sahagun* Lib. V), the request to communicate such dreams for the benefit of the tribe, to the "chief of men," was very natural. According to *Motolinia* ("*Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva-España*," Col. de Doc., Trat. II, cap. VIII, p. 196), certain men were particularly expert in explaining and interpreting dreams, so much so, that they were generally applied to for such purposes. If now, as the story in question has it, the said people refused to comply with such requests, the "chief of men" might, of his own accord,

[For information on divination and soothsaying, see category 116, pp. 1-25, 29-45, 49-60, 70-77, 79-87, 92-109, 124, 126d-126s, 126v-133, 138-139, 143, 145-46, 151-180, 194.]